

Message Text

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TO AMCONSUL BOMBAY NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 007663

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR SAXBE

FOLLOWING SECSTATE 007663 SENT ACTION NEW DELHI REPEATED TO YOU
QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 007663

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IN, US

SUBJECT: MRS. GANDHI'S ATTACKS ON THE U.S.

FROM THE SECRETARY FOR SAXBE

1. I FULLY SHARE YOUR REACTION TO MRS. GANDHI'S
UNWARRANTED ATTACKS ON THE U.S. DURING LAST WEEK'S
ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE SESSIONS. YOU TOOK
EXACTLY THE RIGHT LINE IN YOUR PROTEST TO HER PRINCIPAL
SECRETARY P.N. DHAR AND YOU SHOULD UNDERSCORE OUR
DISPLEASURE IF YOU SEE HIM AGAIN THIS WEEK. THE FACT
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THAT WE ARE NOT CHOOSING TO ENTER INTO A PUBLIC EXCHANGE

OF RECRIMINATIONS WITH THE INDIANS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE INTEND SIMPLY TO IGNORE HER UNJUSTIFIED ATTEMPT TO MAKE US A DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCAPEGOAT. WERE THIS THE FIRST SUCH INSTANCE, I WOULD BE INCLINED TO LET MATTERS REST WITH STRONG VERBAL PROTESTS. BUT THIS IS THE THIRD ROUND OF UNCALLED-FOR ANTI-U.S. ALLEGATIONS BY MRS. GANDHI AND SENIOR INDIAN LEADERS SINCE YOU TOOK UP YOUR ASSIGNMENT IN DELHI. I CONCLUDE THAT WE NOW NEED TO MAKE CLEAR BY OUR ACTIONS AS WELL AS WORDS THAT GOOD RELATIONS MUST BE A TWO-WAY STREET.

2. I HAVE REVIEWED POSSIBLE STEPS WE CAN TAKE BILATERALLY IN RESPONSE TO MRS. GANDHI'S CRITICISM AND JUDGE THAT THE MOST APPROPRIATE COURSE IS AS FOLLOWS:

- A FORMAL PROTEST BY YOU TO CHAVAN.
- WITHDRAWAL OF OUR OFFER TO RESUME AID IN FY 76.
- ONE MONTH DELAY IN PL 480 NEGOTIATIONS.

WE WILL PERMIT THE SEVERAL JOINT COMMISSION ACTIVITIES SCHEDULED FOR THE NEXT MONTHS TO PROCEED ALTHOUGH WE WILL ADOPT A LOWER PROFILE THAN WOULD HAVE BEEN THE CASE IN THE ABSENCE OF MRS. GANDHI'S ALLEGATIONS. THE COMMISSION IS SUPPOSED TO PROVIDE A STRUCTURE TO INSULATE PROGRAMS OF MUTUAL INTEREST FROM SHORT-TERM FLUCTUATIONS IN OUR POLITICAL RELATIONS, AND I WOULD LIKE THESE ACTIVITIES TO CONTINUE. WE, OF COURSE, RETAIN THE OPTION TO PUT THE COMMISSION ON THE SHELF AT SOME LATER DATE SHOULD INDIAN CONDUCT WARRANT THIS FURTHER ACTION.

3. ACCORDINGLY, YOU SHOULD SEEK AN EARLY APPOINTMENT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CHAVAN AND MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- UNDER PERSONAL INSTRUCTIONS FROM ME, YOU ARE LODGING A STIFF FORMAL PROTEST REGARDING THE UNWARRANTED AND UNSUBSTANTIATED ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE U.S. BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND SENIOR INDIAN LEADERS.

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- AS WE HAVE REPEATEDLY SAID, IF THE GOI HAS SPECIFIC CHARGES OF U.S. INTERFERENCE, IT SHOULD BRING THESE PROMPTLY TO OUR ATTENTION.

- ON THE HEELS OF CHAVAN'S GOOD VISIT TO THE U.S. AND OUR FRIENDLY TALK IN PARIS, MRS. GANDHI'S ATTACKS SEEM TOTALLY INCONSISTENT WITH THE GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. THEY MAKE US WONDER IF THE

GOI IS REALLY SERIOUS IN WISHING A MATURE AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP, A PREMISE OF WHICH IS THAT WE AVOID PUBLIC RECRIMINATIONS AND SEEK TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE THROUGH PRIVATE DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES.

-- THE U.S. HAS MADE CLEAR ITS WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH INDIA IN WORKING TOWARD SOLUTIONS OF INDIA'S DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS. HOWEVER, AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY STATED, A CONTINUATION OF UNWARRANTED INDIAN ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE U.S. WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR

US TO JUSTIFY TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND CONGRESS THE CONTINUATION OF ALL THE COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS IN TRAIN OR UNDER CONSIDERATION. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THERE EXISTS AN INSUFFICIENT BASIS OF MUTUAL TRUST TO PROCEED, AS PREVIOUSLY CONTEMPLATED, WITH THE RESUMPTION OF A PROGRAM OF BILATERAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE IN FY 76. WE DO NOT SEE HOW WE COULD JUSTIFY SUCH A PROGRAM IN THE FACE OF REPEATED FALSE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT U.S. INTERFERENCE IN INDIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. WE THEREFORE PLAN TO DEFER TALKS ON AID UNTIL FY 77.

-- THE USG CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF MORE MATURE AND STABLE RELATIONS SERVES INDIAN AND AMERICAN MUTUAL INTERESTS AND CONTRIBUTES TO REGIONAL STABILITY, OUR PRINCIPAL POLICY AIM IN SOUTH ASIA. BUT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE USG WANT THE GOI TO UNDERSTAND THAT GOOD RELATIONS MUST BE A TWO-WAY STREET BASED ON RECIPROCITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT FOR EACH OTHER'S INTERESTS. WE WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE THIS PROCESS, BUT THE DECISION IS UP TO INDIA.

4. WE DO NOT WISH YOU TO INFORM CHAVAN OF THE DELAY IN
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TITLE I PL 480 NEGOTIATIONS. THE INDIANS WILL GET THE MESSAGE WHEN A NUMBER OF OTHER NEGOTIATIONS START IN THE NEXT WEEK OR TWO AND THEY RECEIVE NO WORD REGARDING THE FY 76 INDIA PROGRAM. KISSINGER UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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